POPHAM'S TOWN

OF

FORT ST. GEORGE.

By RUFUS K. SEWALL,

OF WISCASSET, ME.

BATH:
PRINTED BY E. UPTON & SON.
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ANTECEDENTS.

In May, 1605, following the track of the Concord, Gosnold, master, of 1602, the Archangel, Weymouth commander, being forced by embaying shoals and a most uncertain ground to stand off from Cape Cod in the midst of a gale of wind and raging sea, at evening twilight descried land. It appeared a "highland of the main in the N. N. East," but proved to be an island midway between the 43° and 44° north latitude, on the coast of Maine,—known to the French as *E. mmetinic*,* (and contracted to "*Pémquit*" and in English hardened into Pemaquid,) and thereafter applied to the nearest mainland, which, projecting five or six miles toward it into the open sea, forms a narrow cone-shaped peninsula. At its base winds a short, navigable river, whose waters are curved into a beautiful and deep harbor basin, as they pour into the sea by a passage not more than one hundred and fifty feet wide and many fathoms deep. Entering here, five of the natives of Pemaquid were captured, one of whom was a chief, and taken to England in the Archangel. Before this "Pem-

* "Capn. Plaistrier de Honfleur cy devant nommie voulant aller "à Kenibequé, il fuit saisy prisonir pour deux navires anglays, qui "estoimet en un isle appelleé E. mmetinic 8 liieurs du dit Keni-"bequé"

"aquid" had become known in the maritime transactions of Europe; and on the highest historical authority it is alleged that the discovery * of Pemaquid and the capture of its inhabitants form the initial period of New England colonization.

April 10, A. D. 1606, organized movements of the English race for actual possession of the continent of the new world in New England, in the right of that race, began to take legal form; and in 1607 the great commercial centers of England, Bristol and London equiped three vessels, the Gift of God and her tender, a fly-boat, and the Mary and John of London, and embarked an hundred and twenty subjects of "Great Britain," who were sent to execute the movements so organized; in the prosecution of which the colonial fleet reached the coast of Maine in safety; and made a landing in latitude 43° 44′ north, at "Sagadahoc." Covering the Sagadahoc end of this expedition there has been an over-hanging cloud of uncertainty, shading the transactions, and leaving in doubt the fate of one of the leading vessels of the expedition; and the number and relations of the returning colonists; and the actual facts as to the result of the movement. The confusion is a natural incident to cross purposes and divided counsel of changed administration, or of partisan policy in the succession of a subordinate to authority.

The movements of the ship of the Popham command, the flag-ship of the expedition and her tender, after the Mary and John reached anchorage by her side at the site chosen for settlement; or their mission further; or their fate beyond the landing of the Sagadahoc emigration, have never been satisfactorily traced.

A series of facts exist however, in isolation, whose aggregation, in natural order, under logical relations, will

* Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid, Vol. V., M. H. Soc. Coll., p. 157.

throw clear and concentrated light into these beginnings of New England homes and history.

COAST PECULIARITIES.

The coasts of Maine for a degree and a half of latitude between 43° 30′ and 45°, have ever been remarkable, as well for physical features of sea and shore, as for historic nomenclature of aboriginal origin, wafted from ante-colonial periods.

Pemaquid, Sagadahoc and Muscongus are all names of remote antiquity, of native origin and import, designating contiguous sections in the above latitudes, notable in the beginnings of European life as points of eminent attraction, where the earliest fluxes of European emigration were felt. They were well known to European fishermen and fur dealers as eligible and eminently prolific in resources of commercial value, before the voyages of Champlain, De Monts, Weymouth, Popham and Smith. Originally Pemaquid was styled and ranked as a "Kingdom." Muscongus and Sagadahoc were its provinces and dependencies.

These grand old names covered the fattest fishing grounds and fur depots of these latitudes; and were tripartite centers of commercial industries and colonization at the opening of the English colonial epoch.

The exclusive possession and control of these territories were state prizes in the reign of Elizabeth of England and of James I.; and led to desperate, protracted and bloody contests, settled with Spain in the catastrophe of her great Armada, by force of then aval achievements of Drake, 1688; and with France on the heights of Abraham, before Quebec in September, 1759, between the English General Wolf, and Montcalm of the French.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The commercial treasures of Pemaquid and her dependencies, Muscongus and Sagadahoc, pertained to the

Baccalaan resources of these shores stocked with cod-fish; and had arrested the attention and excited the cupidity of maritime Europe, prior to A. D. 1565. "Spain and "Portugal had grasped and divided these regions between "themselves. The Pope made the partition by force of a "Vatican state paper called a 'bull.'"

Stimulated by greed of empire, provoked at the Pope's partiality toward Spain and Portugal, France and England controverted the right of this partition, and determined to get possession of that section of the new world covering the fat fishing grounds. Rival interests quickened the emulation of rival states.

INTERNATIONAL PROTEST.

France, by her king, Francis I., said in challenge of the rights accruing in virtue of this partition: "Spain "and Portugal are quietly dividing the whole country of "America between themselves, without allowing me to "come in for a brother's share. I would be very glad to "see the clause in Adam's will which makes that continent "their exclusive inheritance."

England declared, "that discovery and prescription are "of no avail unless followed by actual possession." This doctrine she prepared at once to enforce; and massed her guns and marshaled her naval force, to give the effect of international law to her common law formula, "*prescriptio sine possessione, haud valebat.*"

England immediately reduced her legal postulate to practice, in application of the theory of her common law title to real estate, to her trans-continental interests, in defiance and in derogation of the assumptions of the vatican and its legal maxims, under the Pope's vice-gerency.

INITIAL MOVEMENTS TO ACQUIRE TITLE.

In this behalf, on the tenth of April A. D. 1606, England opened contracts with her own subjects, known to

the law as a "charter," whose stipulations were conditional.

It was in terms a grant, covering agreements. "We do "grant and agree," is the language of the compact. The tenor, in fact, was a royal license, hedged about with prospective grants, based on conditions to be fulfilled, adequate to the legal purposes of the government.

The transaction consisted of stipulations expressed and implied, which were conditions precedent to future and further concessions, to be made available to the grantees, on petition, after the fulfillment.

The transaction was the legal and formal conception of a valid and permanent title and possession in the new world, covering the purpose of practical and enduring defensible foothold of the English race upon it.

CHARTER PURPOSES.

The object of the stipulations was expressly declared to be "*Making of habitations, by leading out and planting* "*colonies, subjects of Great Britain.*" The grantees were termed "adventurers;" and were organized into bodies corporate. They were required "to build and fortify" where they should inhabit; and their colonies were to be "*of such and so many of the subjects of Great Britain as* "*should willingly accompany*" *on their voyages thither.* The adventurers, by the terms of their contract with government, were restricted to a *voluntary emigration*; and this fact negatives every hypothesis of "legal enforcement" of the men they should lead out of England, as illegal; and George Popham and Rauleigh Gilbert were leading associates and executive agents, as parties to the Royal License of April 10, 1606.

They were allowed any place on the coast, where they should think fit and convenient, between limitations of latitude below the 45° north, and required there to make their abode and begin habitation.

Permanency of possession, homestead establishment alone, could fulfill the conditions of their undertaking.

The salient points of the contract of April 10, 1606, for seizing and holding actual possession at or near the 44° north latitude, are clearly made. English emigration, domiciliation of the race, military occupancy at points fit and convenient, in and about the above latitudes, on the shores of the new world, were the declared purposes, both of the English government and its grantees, the adventurers of this charter.

Such an emigration with purposes aforesaid accomplished, insured under stipulation, that, on petition in that behalf, George Popham, Rauleigh Gilbert, "*their heirs and* "*successors*," should be endowed with plenary rights to the fruits of their undertaking, in a crown deed or "Letters Patent," of the country by them so seized and occupied.

Such were the charter conditions of the voyage of Popham and Gilbert, made in pursuance of the contracts aforesaid.

EMBARKATION.

They set sail from west of England in the spring of the year ensuing, (1607,) taking their departure from Plymouth in three vessels,* one from London, and with a west of England and London emigration combined. They landed at Pemaquid, and debarked in latitude 43° 44′ north, at "Sagadahoc,"—a precinct of the Pemaquid country,—fortified the peninsula of Sabino,—and from thence distributed their colonists in conformity to their stipulations, in execution of the contract of April 10, 1606, and so as to hold the Pemaquid country,—beginning with the erection, in August, 1607, of Popham's town of Fort St. George.

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* Gorges.

LOCATION.

The out-going floods of the Androscoggin and Kennebec Rivers and their tributaries, enter the sea by two channels, in a single volume of water known as "Sagadahoc," meaning "going out of waters into the sea." The Sagadahoc is the direct and main course of the out-going waters of the above confluents; and the by-river "Sasanoa," sometimes called Hellgate or Hockamock, is an effluent of the same body of waters through Sheepscot Bay, into the sea eastward. The shore of the bay intervening between the two outlets, spreads into a beach of white sand and shells, known, time out of mind, as "Sagadahoc beach."* The west shore of the main channel at the sea, has been curled by opposing tides into a peninsula, an hundred acres or more in area, called in the earliest aboriginal days, "Sabino," and so called when occupied by the Popham colonists. It is a drift of sand, shells and earth, beaten in about the roots of granite headlands, with a fresh water lakelet, fringed with a broad, white sand beach upon the sea front. These interior tides rushing through the channels of the Sagadahoc between rocky rounded islets into the sea, and which recoil upon the shore in breaking surf, filter through the sands, and fill the little pond of fresh water on the beach. The mountainous and lighted cliff tops of Seguin Island pile sheltering rocks seaward; and mighty granite bluffs environ the rear. Here the expedition sought a lodgement upon Weymouth's "so beneficial and "goodly a river, 'Sagadahoc.'"

ABORIGINAL IMPORTANCE.

The native wildness of the site gave it singular attractiveness, presenting a landscape of open forests, towering pines below, and hilltops over-grown with beech and oak

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* It has two mouths, tolerably large, at least two leagues distant, the one from the other.—[Baird's Voyage to Quinibequi.

above, and on either side a skirting of clear, grassy margins of sand and shells, in a sweep seaward on its northern front. It was, therefore, a favorite camping ground, of which the indications in 1857 were most marked and decisive. The peninsula in aboriginal grandeur, must have been a spot of distinguished attraction to the natives. The vestiges of aboriginal occupancy are peculiar. There would seem to have been manufactories, arsenals of the savage hosts of the Sagadahoc, where arrowheads, stone axes and spears were blocked out, and hewn or broken into shape and fitness for war or the chase.

The northern sweep of shore here has undergone a considerable change within the past quarter of a century and more, and since it was studded with the lodges of aboriginal artisans. When it was examined, in 1857, this margin was broken into sand heaps, rolled and gorged by bleak winds. Since the sheltering background of forest pines have been cut and cleared away, and the United States' works and fishers' cots have been put up, about the sand heaps, chipped rocks, arrowheads, spear blades, &c., in every stage of manufacture, and of great variety in material, have been found,—relics suggestive of the industries of aboriginal workmen. Also human bones, it is said, and of unusual size, have been unearthed in the gorges of the sand hills; but no considerable remains of edible shellfish, the refuse of human food, here appear.

The chips, fragments, remains of stone-wrought tools and weapons of death, and human remains, alone distinguished the site as a place of aboriginal importance. The peninsula of Sabino must have been the scene of aboriginal industries in the manufactures described, anterior to the advent of European colonization, else some notice or record would have come down to us. Indeed it was a month and a week after the landing of the English here, ere they met the river natives; and then, at even-tide, voices of broken English, echoing from an opposite shore,

startled the English ear in 1607. It turned out to be a call of certain "salvages;" and by morning light a "canoa" appeared; and in her a Sagamo who told the planters his name was Sebanoa, and that he was lord of the river of Sagadahoc. "These were stranger Indians, able men, very "tall and strong, and such as the like before had not been "seen." Although the advent of the white man had been welcomed at Pemaquid, at Sagadahoc it had awakened suspicion, excited fear, heralded perils. The natives greeted the English here with ominous tales of cannibals* living near Sagadahoc, with teeth three inches long." The oyster deposits of Damariscotta, shell heaps of Ped-coke-gowak, the offal remains of the populous "Arambec," the pottery, copper ornaments and implements among these shell heaps, and the remains of Menikuk, the darts, bone stilettos of these neighboring Pemaquid localities east, are not found at Sagadahoc. The races were different in character, taste and habits. The peninsula of "Sabino" was the seat of a more barbarous, but skillful people, manufacturers of rude arms.

DEBARKATION.

August 17, O. S., three sail, the Gift of God and her tender, flag-ship of the expedition, and the Mary and John of London, lay at anchor; the former in the haven of Sabino in shore; and the latter outside under Seguin.

Driven about in the bay east of Seguin for two days, in a mighty storm and a south gale which came on at midnight, nearly wrecked on a lee shore, standing off and on, the ships had found shelter in "Cape harbor," under the "Cuckolds," described as "two little islands, all rocky and "full of pines, where three savages had taken refuge," and some six miles distant from Sagadahoc. From thence, with wind off shore and fair, the ships had run over to the

* M. Hist. Coll., Vol. ii. Folsom.

main entrance of the Sagadahoc, the morning of the fifteenth, and entered the mouth of the Kennebec. "At the "mouth or entry of the river," says the journal of this voyage, "on the west side, a spot, almost an island of good "bigness," was selected for the site of the fort and town. The chief in command, Popham, in his pinnace with thirty men, and his subordinate, Gilbert, in his long boat with eighteen men, first landed and made the choice. They were two days about it. But on the nineteenth all went on shore. The first act of colonial inauguration was the worship of God, in which all joined; and here religious services were first held upon the main in New England, in the English tongue. A sermon was preached. The commission was then opened and read; and a code of laws promulged. A president, as chief magistrate, was nominated; five assistants sworn in; and the civil organization was completed. So the soil of New England then and there was consecrated to the use of English homes, and set apart to the English race in a civil polity, founded in religion and law. This being done, all returned aboard again. The persons inducted into office were, George Popham, president; Rauley Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlow, master of ordinance; Robert Davis, sergeant major; James Davis, captain of the fort; Richard Sèymour, chaplain; Elias Best, marshal; and George Carew, searcher. An hundred and twenty persons were present to participate in the inaugural services.

On the twentieth all again landed, and broke ground for entrenched works. The ensuing week was consumed in work on the fort. A store-house was erected. Digby of London as master carpenter, laid out a ship-yard, stretched the keel, and put up the frame of a thirty ton vessel. These industries filled up the time of the colonists for about four months, or to the thirteenth of December; in which time the fort was fully finished, entrenched and fortified. Twelve guns were mounted. Fifty houses,

besides a church, were erected within the lines. The colonists must have had the means of cutting boards and plank or they could not have built their vessel; and there is no evidence that their houses and church were mere log cabins. An idea of the English village fashion of that age, may be formed, perhaps, from that of the sister colony in South Virginia, settled the same year at the mouth of James River. A triangular fort with half-moon batteries for artillery covered each corner. Two rows of houses of framed timber, some two stories and a garret above, with three large store-houses joined lengthwise, newly and strongly empaled, made up the village outline of the sister State of Virginia; and Popham's town was without doubt like it. On the fifteenth of December, the "Mary and John," Captain Davis, was dispatched to England, bearing the first state paper written in America,—a message from President Popham to James I., of England, announcing to government the present success and future promise of the state establishment. These transactions closed the year 1607.

A. D. 1608, February 5, the first great calamity occurred in the death of their aged and good President Popham. The naked fact of his decease at his post, is all that history has preserved of this untoward event. Before the return of Captain Davis with spring supplies of provisions, arms, tools, &c., some others had died; but *all things at Sagadahoc were found then in good condition, many furs stored, the new vessel finished, launched, and called the Virginia.* This vessel, for years afterward, freighted between England and Jamestown.

But Admiral Gilbert, who had succeeded President Popham in authority, and who represented the London interest in the new town, had determined to resign his trust and go home to England; and his determination in the premises seems to have influenced his co-residents at Sagadahoc to abandon with him their town. So all of the

Sagadahoc people embarked with him in the newly built Virginia and the newly arrived ship, and set sail for England. Thus was vacated the Sagadahoc settlement of this colonial adventure. Harlow's relation is, that the experience of so "frozen a winter," and shortness of provisions, "*sent all back to England but forty-five.*" *

The country and rivers had been explored by the colonists in the mean time, westward to "Richmond's Island;" and eastward beyond Pemaquid. Courteous and friendly relations existed with the natives, especially eastward. The Pemaquid people were free and friendly, more so than the dwellers on the Kennebec and Androscoggin.

They visited the new English town of St. George without distrust, projected trade, fostered interchange of courteous civilities. The Sabbath was honored by the Pemaquid people, who went with the colonists to the place of public prayers and in divine service in the new-built church, they appeared in silence, with reverence and respect. The first landing of these colonists on the main in New England was at Pemaquid. Here the English first slept ashore, and made the acquaintance of the noblest chieftains of the King of Pemaquid, (the Bashaba,) Sasanoa his brother, Amenquin his son, with Sebanoa, lord of the river of "Sagadahoc." The Sabbath at Sagadahoc was duly kept to God's honor, in services, morning and evening; and, without doubt, according to the venerable and decorous and reverential and exact formularies of the Church of England,—whose grand and devout and impressive worship of the true God, here first awed the savage mind, and touched with reverential power the savage heart. The fear and worship of God were marked features of Popham's administration at Sagadahoc.

It is indeed true that the above record has had a tradi-

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* Smith's Hist. Va., Vol. iii., p. 174. Harlow's Relation and Prince's Annals.

tional or partisan coloring of details of treachery, disaster, anarchy and wrong; and Abbott has loosely gathered, exaggerated, embellished, and promulged these colorings as veritable history, the only foundation for which is savage rumor.

ENGLISH TRADITION.

A sailor reported an old Indian story, that a quarrel ensued between the natives and settlers at Sagadahoc, in which the Indians killed some of the English, and drove the rest out of their fort; others, that the storehouse was burned, in consequence of a cannon trick.

But none of these waifs of tradition are consistent with the narratives of cotemporaneous history, and could not have occurred prior to the reëmbarkation of the Gilbert exodus from Sagadahoc, in 1608. The sailor's yarn has been supplemented with a cannon story and powder scene, explosions and repentance, mere local waifs of very uncertain origin.

FRENCH TRADITION.

The archives of France are disclosing more authentic matter. Father Baird* was at Sagadahoc in February, four years after its abandonment. He observed its strategic relations and criticised them; and gives the following tragic rumors current among the Armouchiquois, or Androscoggin Indians, concerning the abandonment of Sagadahoc. The Indians said "the English had at first "a good man at their head, and his people treated the "natives well."

But the river tribe of the Armouchiquois feared the neighborhood of such strangers; and by enchantment and magic art caused the death of their leader. Under another leader the *English changed their ways*,—were rude, abusive,

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* French were here soon after Popham's party left.—[Hubbard's N. E., 37.

and ill in their conduct. The unneighborly apprehension pressed the restless savages, impatient of the presence of the strangers in possession of their thoroughfare to the sea, and they resolved to "kill the cub before its teeth and "claws had grown." The opportunity offered. The vessels of the colonists had left the fort and gone into the bay to fish. They were three in number. The conspirators, with savage subtlety, pretended friendship, stealthily followed, and with unwonted friendliness approached the unwary fishermen, and on a signal preconcerted, each savage having picked his man, put his knife to the hated white man's throat, and eleven were thus butchered in cold blood. Intimidated by these atrocities, the survivors abandoned Sagadahoc, and contented themselves next year in summer, in coming to the island of E. mmetnic, *i. e.* Pemquit or Pemaquid. Such are the traditions of 1609, from French sources.

If true, these rumors relate to some fragment or relic of the abandoning colony of 1608,—individuals of the Popham emigration, *who did not sail to England in the Virginia or Mary and John with the Gilbert return,*—perhaps the "*forty-*"*five*" mentioned in Harlow's relation. Such a bloody catastrophe could not possibly have escaped the record of incidents at Sagadahoc, before and at the time of its abandonment, made by the English historians, Gorges and Strachey; but may have befallen any, resident at other points, who would have more or less frequented the hamlet at Sabino, as custodians of the property there, and to whose fate and fortunes, we have only here and there incidental references.

The result of the attempt of Popham and Gilbert, in behalf of the adventures to execute the contract of 1606, was a fortified town of fifty houses, a church and a shipyard at the seaside, where the waters of the Kennebec enter the sea. Here was penned the first state paper, a dispatch to the king, the thirteenth of December, 1607.

Here died the venerable, respected and conscientious, God-honoring president, the chief magistrate of the newly organized state, on the fifth of February, 1608; and here was he buried, with all the honors, it may be presumed, incidental to his state and public relations and character. After the decease of the chief magistrate, his successor, Rauley Gilbert, on the return of the London ship, Captain Davis, with the London emigrants, set sail from Sagadahoc for England.

OTHER PLACES OCCUPIED.

But, A. D. 1619, in March, the petition contemplated in the contract of April 10, 1606, was presented to the privy council of the crown, by parties alleged therein to be heirs, assigns and successors of the grantees of 1606, viz: the adventurers Popham and Gilbert, and the colonists by them led out to Sagadahoc.

A hearing was had, and warrant thereupon was ordered; and Sir Francis Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, among others, were recognized by the government as heirs, successors and assigns, to the rights and benefits of the contract of 1606, and the adventurers thereunder; and on the third of November, 1620, "Letters Patent," as agreed upon in 1606, were duly signed, sealed and delivered to Sir Francis Popham and his co-petitioners. As a state paper, this transaction is recognized and known in history as the "Great New England Charter;" and is in law and fact the complement of the royal contract of April 10, 1606; and is related thereto as a deed to its escrow. The license of April 10, 1606, with its conditions precedent, the petition of March, 1619, and the royal warrant of issue of November 3, 1620, are but parts of one transaction, founded in licensure, extended by petition, concluded in execution of the muniments of title, before the common law statute of limitations of twenty years should intervene. The remarkable feature of the Great Charter is, that as a

state paper, it recites the conditions precedent of its grant, declares on the face of the record they had been fulfilled, and that "*the original grantees, their heirs, assigns and* "*successors, had, in divers years past, discovered a place fit and* "*convenient to lay the foundations of a hopeful plantation; had* "*taken actual possession of the continent and settled English* "*emigrants already, in places agreeable to their desires, in those* "*parts.*"

Discovery, settlements, homestead establishment of English emigrants, were sole legal precedents of the grant. It had all been done prior to March, 1619. The fact stands on the face of the record; and in law the record is conclusive of the facts on its face. Therefore between April 10, 1606, and March, 1619, in and about the 44° north latitude, *more than one place* was inhabited by the English race. A voluntary English emigration had already settled in *places* agreeable to their desires, in virtue of the colonial undertakings of the Popham expedition of 1607, and growing out of that enterprise.

The compacts of 1606 had then borne fruit, and ripened into emigration and settlement.

WHEN AND WHERE?

Answer must come from the record of the public knowledge of the facts, current at and near the time. It may be gathered in the literature of the day and age succeeding. Cotemporaneous and summary statements of history in England, France, and elsewhere, will give it.

The record is, "that* to the north, in the height of 44°, "lyeth the country of Pemaquid, the kingdom wherein our "western colony upon the Sagadahoc, was sometime "planted;" and Pemaquid† was recognized as one of

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* Strachey's Travels in Va. Hackluit Papers.

† Colonies: Pemaquid, Province of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island, New York, &c.—[Andros' Tracts, p. 23.

the ten colonies of New England, and so designated in 1690.

This is the earliest public English summary of the facts connected with the Sagadahoc colonial adventure.

The Popham and Gilbert colonists in fact, seized the "*Pemaquid country;*" and although located at Sagadahoc, their relations extended and spread into latitude 44°,—the latitude of Wiscasset, Muscongus, New Harbor of Pemaquid; and whatever may have been the fate of the central root planted in latitude 43° 44′ north, at Sagadahoc, ramifications must have spread to other points north and east.

It is precisely here are found the relics and remains of a rudimentary European commerce and civilization. At Pemaquid are buried pavements, canals, mill-races, lead-works, tanneries, smitheries, mason work, monumental stones of the dead,—bearing dates from 1606 to 1610,—pipes and spoons of the Elizabethan age and manufacture.*

French authorities on English colonization assert "Pemaquid † to have been the first point which was occupied "by the English." The bay is described as "very wide, and "fine, good anchorage of five fathom; and opposite the "fort, within musket shot, close to the rocks."

Swedish historians aver, ‡ that, in 1606 and the year

* The great New England voyager says, Bristol merchants dispatched vessels, one of fifty tons and one of twenty-six tons and forty-three men and boys, 1603, of which Robert Saltern, who had made a voyage in the Concord with Captain Gosnold the year before, was pilot.

June 7, he touched the coast near the 43°, "found plentie of "most sorts of fish, a high country full of great woods, was kindly "used by the natives, who came in troops of tens, twenties and "thirties." He followed the track of Gosnold. "*New England* "*was brought out of obscurity, and afforded freight for near two* "*hundred sail of ships, where is now erected a brave plantation.*" —[P. 243, Smith's Hist. Va. Vol. i.

† Spelled Pemcuit.—[Mon's Cadilae's Report.

‡ Campanius' Hist., Brn. Telegraph.

following, a considerable number of people under Captain George Popham and Gilbert, settled themselves in New England; and after they found themselves comfortably established there, they built a town. After 1612, "a "number of people went thither."

The ecclesiastical reports* of French missionaries of that day, "show that the English were resident at Pemaquid "1608-9."

Of the colonization at Sagadahoc, the French record avers,† "that the new colony fell into languishment," (not that it died out;) "and the several individuals who made "voyages during four or five years, brought little profit to "it until the voyage of Captain John Smith."

Hubbard, the early American historian of 1677, declares "the first place ‡ ever possessed by the English in hopes of "making a plantation, was a place on the west side of "Kennebec, called Sagadahoc; and *that other places adjoining* " *were soon after seized and occupied,—improved in trading and* "*fishing.*" Sullivan gives it as the current tradition of his day, "that there were people at Pemaquid from the time "of Gilbert's possession. They were strangers, and did not "venture south till the settlement of Plymouth."

Such are the concurrent statements of published accounts in confirmation of the record of the state papers of 1620,—that before that time, and in virtue of the transactions and compacts of 1606, the English race *were already settled in places agreeable to their desires in these parts*;—and at and about Pemaquid, which stood as a separate § and independent colony, these places are found. The colony of Pemaquid and the province of Maine, divided the territory of Maine.

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* Jes. Relations. Memorial Vol., Brunswick Telegraph.

† French Encyclopedia of 1760, Trans. Dr. L. Woods.

‡ Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 246-7.

§ Andros' Tracts, p. 237, Vol. ii. Address of Gentry, merchants and als., of New England to the king.

The civil divisions of North America of that day, ranked Pemaquid a "kingdom." Muscongus, Sagadahoc, and the islands intervening, were provincial dependencies. Subsequently it was classed as a colony; then the County of Cornwall.

The Pemaquid country was, therefore, the objective point in the stipulations for occupancy under the royal licensure of April 10, 1606; and Pemaquid was the "locus "in quo," where places fit and convenient to lay the foundations of hopeful plantations had been discovered, *taken actual possession of, and settled with people agreeable to their desires*; a port opened and fortified; trade established in conformity to the conditional undertakings of the Popham adventures, their heirs, assigns and successors.

PEMAQUID A CENTER OF TRADE.

To the Pemaquid region, then glowing with the exaggerations of new discovery, settlements, trade, and other incidents of permanent possession with the English race, the warrant of 1619, and the "Great New England Charter" of November 3, 1620, related in the recital of settlements already made, and of places desirable, fit and convenient.

Therefore it is not without just grounds that Thornton has declared that the discovery of Pemaquid and the capture* of its native inhabitants form the initial period of New England colonization.

The development of English life and civilization, at the aboriginal points of Pemaquid and Muscongus, made rapid progress.

SUMMARY.

The ships of the colonial expedition of 1607, which sailed from Plymouth in execution of the contracts of 1606, were

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* Weymouth's voyage, Rosier's Acc't.—[Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid.

dispatched to the scene of the Weymouth voyage of 1605; and in the expedition was one of the Pemaquid natives captured by Weymouth on that voyage.

The Gift of God and her consorts, first cast anchor in the Pemaquid waters; and were there deserted of their native guide, the returned captive, who, at Pemaquid, joined his countrymen. The harbor of the peninsula of Sabino, as we have before shown, was their next place of anchorage for debarkation. It had attracted the emigrant colonists as a desirable place, where ground was broken on the twentieth of August. A permanent foothold was contemplated; and all the elements of English civilization in law and religion, the great civilizing forces of humanity, were here first combined and took organic form on the soil of New England; and a town of fifty houses, a store-house, a fort entrenched and fortified with mounted cannon, a ship-yard, with a thirty ton vessel, the Virginia, on the stocks, at once adorned the margins of the sheltering headlands of Sagadahoc.

It was the opening scene of English possession, industry and thrift. It was the colonial blossom of the first planting. Did it bear fruit?

It is charged with blight the next year. The narrative closes the account of English residence here, in the language following, viz: "The company by no means "would stay any longer, especially Captain Gilbert being to "leave them; wherefore they all ymbarqued in the new "arrived ship and the Virginia, and set sail for England; "and this was the end of the northern colony *upon the river* "*Sagadahoc.*"

It was, therefore, the Sagadahoc River abandonment;—and, strictly construed, it relates to the departure of the colonists resident at that point, which is the emphatic feature of the statement. This narrative, for this reason, seems to be limited to transactions connected with the Gilbert administration, his ships and company, and to the

river Sagadahoc, and has no necessary relation, as it does not mention the Popham ships, to transactions connected with their movements or mission; or to transactions at other fit and convenient places adjoining, seized and improved in trading and fishing in the Pemaquid country, as related by Hubbard.

ABANDONMENT PROTESTED.

But the abandonment certainly was not concurred in by all the adventurers. The Popham influence being overruled, did not submit. Sir Francis, heir and successor to the Popham estate, would not acquiesce. "He* would not "so give it over," (*ie.* the settlement and trade of the country here,) "but taking the remaining ships and provis-"ions of the company, *continued voyages to the coast for trade "and fishing.*" The Popham family then persisted in the occupancy of the country; and their ships, which led the way in opening up its further resources, held the ground, but not at Sagadahoc.

An island, environed with mountain tops clad with tall forest oaks and pines, half a league in circuit and some fifteen acres in area, dividing a river channel east of Pemaquid into a cross, discovered and occupied by Champlain in May, 1604, had become the seat of a party of French protestants under DeMonts, a French protestant nobleman.

The seaward end of this island rolled naturally into a hilltop, was mounted with cannon, and crowned with a chapel in fashion a wigwam. The opposite end of the island was graded and entrenched and guarded by a fort; and between were the lodges of the Swiss, and other little houses, like a city suburb. At the brook on the main near, had been reared cabins for others. Here were one hundred colonists. The fort was solid carpenter work, which covered DeMonts home,—and floated the flag of France above. A magazine of

* Plymouth Co. Relation, Vol. ii., M. H. C., p. 33.

like work, covered with shingles, stood in the rear and opposite the residences of Champlain and other noblemen of the party, where, also, was a covered gallery for work and amusement; and between the fort and platform for cannon, garden patches were all filled in.

It was a most elaborate colonial French establishment. Left by DeMonts for Port Royal, Plastrier of Honfleur held possession, 1608-9.

The rumor of English evacuation of Sagadahoc soon spread to the east, and into the French settlements at St. Croix, which were made four years anterior to the abandonment of Sagadahoc.

1609-10, Plastrier commanded at St. Croix, where he held Neutral Island in the interest of French colonization. It was his purpose to expand his authority, and stretch the scepter of the French crown over Sagadahoc and cover the passes to the magnificent Kennebec country.

He therefore planned an expedition from St. Croix, and embarked to seize the abandoned English homes. Arriving off Pemaquid, at the island of E. mmetinic, he encountered English ships. and was captured. They had letters of the King of England warranting what had been done, under which the English commander justified, producing the letters themselves; and there can hardly be a shadow of doubt that they were the "Letters Patent" of the royal license of April 10, 1606, which were the charter papers of the "Gift of God" and her consorts, in the Sagadahoc voyage of 1607, and which, the record shows, expressly authorized the act sought to be justified.

The French narratives of transactions at Sagadahoc in 1607-8-9, presuppose other points seized and occupied in virtue of the Sagadahoc expedition, and a continued, though languid colonial existence. Smith's voyage, which that account notes as a quickening force to that existence, was made six years after the abandonment of Sagadahoc. It was made, not to the Sagadahoc site of the English

settlement of 1607, *but to the ancient E. mmetinic* (now Monhegan,) the great landmark in the direct track of European voyages, a dependency of Pemaquid, and a quarter of a degree north and east of Sagadahoc. This island is an insular, truncated mountain top, between which, and the fragments thereof, is a remarkable harbor of refuge; and the island, without doubt, gave its Franco-Indian name to the contiguous projecting mainland, stretching into the ocean toward Europe, beyond all other mainland projections of the North American coast; and into its little harbor Smith moored his two ships from London, in the summer of 1614, freighted with goods for trade in furs. This he found profitless, as he says, "because of the "pre-absorption of that trade by the Pophams, in 'a port' "on the main opposite."

PEMAQUID PORT DISCOVERED.

His language is: "Right on the main against us, Sir "Francis Popham's ship was in; and had such acquaint- "ance, haveing used that *port* only for many years, that "most part of the trade was there had by him." Smith was obliged to go to gardening and boat building at Monhegan, and launched seven. Some of his men he kept fishing. The others he used in coasting the main westward to Cape Cod and beating up trade and gathering freight, and so made up cargoes for his homeward voyage, of great value. This voyage was in the interest of London. Gilbert and Digby, in the right of the interest of that city, had, by their abandonment of the fort and ship-yard of Sagadahoc, not only severed the interest of the late company operations there, but had offended the Popham influence in that undertaking, represented by the heir-at-law, Sir Francis, who would not give over the enterprise,*

* Gorges. Plymouth Co. Relation, Vol. ii., M. H. Coll., p. 33. Sir F. Popham, having the ships and provisions of the Co. which *remained*, sent divers times to the coast for trade, &c.

but withdrew his father's ship and freighted her on his own account, under Captain Williams; and which, without doubt, was the ship found by Smith in port at Pemaquid, in the exclusive control of the trade of the main there.

The intrusion of Smith, under the circumstances in the interest of the London trade, into *Popham's port* at Pemaquid, would have divided the trade Popham's perseverance and enterprise had created, and would, therefore, have been a trespass. These facts and theories concur with the French version of the Sagadahoc enterprise. If that enterprise in 1607 died out at Sagadahoc, and the operations of the adventurers as a company there closed, it must have survived at Pemaquid, (although a languid exotic,) in the personal and private enterprise of the Popham family with the Popham ships alone, till the quickening force of the profits of Smith's voyages moved English commercial circles at London, to active coöperation.

CHARACTER OF ITS BUILDINGS.

In 1677, Hubbard declares "there had been at Pemaquid "for a long time, seven or eight considerable dwellings,"—*ie.*, old homesteads in his day. They were not warehouses, but dwellings;—not log shanties,—fisher's huts,—but "*considerable establishments.*"

There must have been other buildings of lesser note, of humbler pretensions,—for convenience of trade, use of laborers, artisans, ship stores, fishermen and furriers, of equal antiquity, probably ante-dating the considerable dwellings, and making the port of 1614 a freight depot of the Popham ship.

THE OWNERS OF SAGADAHOC AT PEMAQUID.

It is certain immediately after the English evacuation of Sagadahoc, Plastrier, in the interest of France, purposed a reoccupation of the Sagadahoc hamlet. Off Pemaquid, in execution of the design, he was captured by English ships,

and forced to abandon the attempted intrusion; the commander of the vessels, producing letters under seal of the English crown, authorizing the force and violence, who at the same time informed Plastrier "*that they were masters of* "*the place*,"—a declaration founded on the fact that he and his ship's company, by possession or occupancy, and labor there in building up Sagadahoc, gave a natural right to the place, as their own establishment.

The licensure of 1606 covered the acts of the captors; and the actual possession of the Sagadahoc section of the Pemaquid country in 1607, made the adventurers of that licensure, their heirs, assigns and successors, *masters of the place, under English law.*

FLAGSHIP OF POPHAM EXPEDITION AT PEMAQUID.

The capturing ship was a government vessel, or she would not have been armed with "royal letters," nor have assumed to act as she did in the arrest of the French colonial agent.

There is no evidence the "Gift of God" or her tender, the flagship of the expedition and the Popham ship, were disabled, wrecked, lost, or had become unseaworthy on this voyage; or that they, or either of them, returned to England from Sagadahoc before or after abandonment.

There were no other Popham ships in the Sagadahoc expedition; and if Sir Francis, in disgust at Gilbert's course, withdrew the ships and provisions, or supplies, of his father's estate, and put the leading ship in trade at Pemaquid, it must have been the "Gift of God;" and that ship, with her tender, 1609-10, armed with the "Letters "Patent" of her charter, for the original voyage, would have been in condition to arrest Plastrier, and defeat the purpose of the French occupancy of the abandoned English homes and fort at Sagadahoc. The presumption is conclusive that the flagship of the Popham expedition, the Gift of God, thus stood sentinel over the abandoned fort of St.

George, and the English interest of Sagadahoc; and was also the ship Smith found in "port" on the main over against Monhegan, in the service of Sir Francis, 1614, and which had been kept in business there, alone, for some years prior;—there being no evidence there were any other ships in the interest of the Popham family, engaged in the Sagadahoc colonization.

INFLUENCE OF THE POPHAM TRADE.

That the fisheries and fur trade of the "Popham voya-"ges," gave considerable impulse to colonization,* is matter of public record;† and these voyages were made to the main under Monhegan, which is Pemaquid.

Its stimulus, 1614, had concentrated a commercial depot there, as a trade center, which controlled it all. The port there had so long been preoccupied in the interest of the Popham estate, it was found impracticable by Smith, to secure a diversion in his favor.

Therefore, in May, 1614, there was a port at Pemaquid of some years' standing, and a Popham ship in trade therein, and in control of a somewhat exclusive and extensive business connection with the country; and it is not improbable that the seven or eight considerable dwellings of ancient standing in 1677, adorning and distinguishing this port, were exponents of its earlier commercial industries.

VALUE OF ITS EXPORTS.

The Pemaquid country and its surroundings, in the graphic accounts of that day, showed "high, craggy cliff "rocks, stony isles,"—the early voyagers "wondering such "great trees could grow upon them." The sea there too, was "the strangest fishpond ever seen. The coast moun-

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* Major's Introduction. Tra. in Va., p. 17.

† Strachey's Tra. in Va.

"tainous, and isles of huge rocks, overgrown with most "sorts of excellent good woods for house building, the "building of boats, barks or ships, with incredible abun-"dance of most sorts of fish, much fowl, and sundry good "fruits; a region where the natives take and kill most of "their otter."

Compared with Newfoundland, the fisheries of Pemaquid were reputed fifty per cent more valuable. "A hundred "fish from its waters, were, in marketable worth, equal to "two hundred of the eastern catch, with half the labor in "curing, and a whole voyage, in season, earlier." "Scarce "anyone," continues Smith in the record of his experience here, "will go beyond the port they fish in, within a square "of three leagues, where five hundred sail may have "freight."* All these allegations relate to the resources and surroundings of the port, where Smith found Popham's ship in trade in 1614; and this was a port of the Pemaquid country,—the "coast of the hillocks," known to the Spaniards,—and where they had been and gone, prior to 1607, and left their fishing shallops behind to the natives, who had learned to handle, sail and manage with grapnel at sea.

The "Treasurer," one hundred and thirty tons, carrying fourteen guns and sixty men, Captain Argall, harbored here the year before Smith did,—and from thence made an attack upon the French settlements† east of Pemaquid,—destroyed all that remained of DeMonts colony at St. Croix, and broke up their trading post at Penobscot, capturing their vessels, a ship and her pinnace. The port under Monhegan, its surrounding of fisheries and fur trade,—had become attractive in the largest commercial centers. Two ships from London and six from Plymouth, sailed for the Pemaquid country in 1615.

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* Smith's Description of N. E., pp. 188-242.

† Shea's Charlevoix.

NACHEEN'S VOYAGE.

The Nacheen* of Dartmouth, of two hundred tons, Brawnde, master, made Seguin the 20th of April, and reached Monhegan the 24th. A fleet of twenty-four sail made their voyages there the same season; among which the Blessing, the David of one hundred and forty tons, the Trial and the Judith are mentioned. The Plymouth and the London fleet returned fully laden with back cargoes. The Nacheen had large store of freight for trade, to be delivered to a pinnace sent out to meet her at the rendezvous at Monhegan, or the Damariscore Islands, both dependencies of the Pemaquid country. The tender did not arrive till the last of June, and then was wrecked. Moreover, Sir Richard Hawkins, president of the Plymouth company, was at Monhegan, and took from the Nacheen her fishing boats. This made it necessary for Captain Brawnde to build others. These adverse circumstances delayed and damaged the voyage. In his narrative of his experiences and observations at and about Monhegan, in the Pemaquid country, Brawnde wrote home to England, "that great voyages in fish and furs could be made here, "if not spoiled by too many factors, and bad faith with the "Indians."

He extolled the fisheries, declaring them superior to those of Newfoundland, especially in size and fatness of the catch. He describes the country to be healthful; the natives as gentle-natured, and disposed to be on terms of intimacy and friendliness with the English. †

* Brande Selin, Hist. Gen. Register, No. iii., p. 250. Sept. 1874.

† At this date the great and decisive Tarratine war with the Wawenock race was raging around the seat of the Bashaba of Pemaquid, in which the domination of the dynasty of that sovereign was terminated, and the race scattered.—[Prince's Annals, p. 43.

MONHEGAN ISLAND A TRADE STATION, A. D. 1616.

Pemaquid had, by the enterprise and perseverance of the Popham interest and family, reached a point of attractive commercial eminence in 1614, which soon called into activity the leading mercantile commercial influences of London, as well as Bristol, England.

At this date Sir Ferdinando Gorges appears, actively, personally to engage in the commerce which had grown up around Popham's port on the main opposite Monhegan, with a view to private emolument. Gorges joined Dr. Sutcliff in the outfit of two vessels in execution of a plan projected by Captain Smith, on his last voyage, for the opening of a new depot for commercial adventure in the Pemaquid country. One of these vessels, the *Vice-Admiral, was two hundred tons,* and the other fifty tons. Thomas Dermer was put in command of one, and Captain John Smith of the other.

The diversion and concentration of trade at Monhegan Island, or the fishing islands adjacent to Pemaquid, near Popham's port on the main, were the avowed purposes of the enterprise,—the design seeming to be the creation of a new, if not rival center for the Pemaquid trade and fisheries.

The ships sailed together. One hundred and twenty miles out, Smith strained his masts, which were broken in a gale, and his vessel was driven back to port. Dermer escaped, and made a successful voyage, executing his commission, left his vessel at the "usual place" to finish her voyage, which she did, and returned to London fully and profitably laden. To escape the inconveniences, expense and delay of the absorption of the native trade at Popham's ship's port on the main, encountered in his first voyage there, Smith had projected the expedition covering the fruits of Dermer's enterprise; and to assure its success, he says, "he made an arrangement with a proud

"savage, and one of the greatest lords among them, Naha-"nada." This was the savage Sagamore in command at Pemaquid when Popham and Gilbert touched there in 1607.

The fruits of the Dermer voyage were homesteads around Monhegan Island harbor, and of its island surroundings, all dependencies of Pemaquid. Thus a new depot for trade and freight,—island ports,—in the interest of Gorges, appeared.

Gorges, therefore, was the founder of the Monhegan and adjoining island settlements, as Sir Francis Popham had been that of the main-land port of Pemaquid,—and at what was in 1625, and is still known as "New Harbor,"—a beautifully situated cloven inlet, of two small harbor openings on the east shore of the Pemaquid point at its base. Neither of these establishments were corporate or colonial enterprise, but the fruits of private adventure, as freight stations for English voyagers and fishermen, and had their beginnings in the colonial adventures of 1607.*

With Popham's port, New Harbor, on the main peninsula of Pemaquid, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges' plantation, with its insular surroundings, we take a new departure, from whence, to observe the growth of the country and the view, becomes more definite in outline, and distinct and traceable in detail.

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* Thomas Hunt, the kidnapper, was concerned in these transactions, with a view to thwart Smith's purpose of opening a new port of trade. Hunt says, he, "thinking to prevent the interest, I had "to make there a plantation, &c." Stole several of the natives and sold them into slavery.—[Smith's Description of N. E., p. 176.